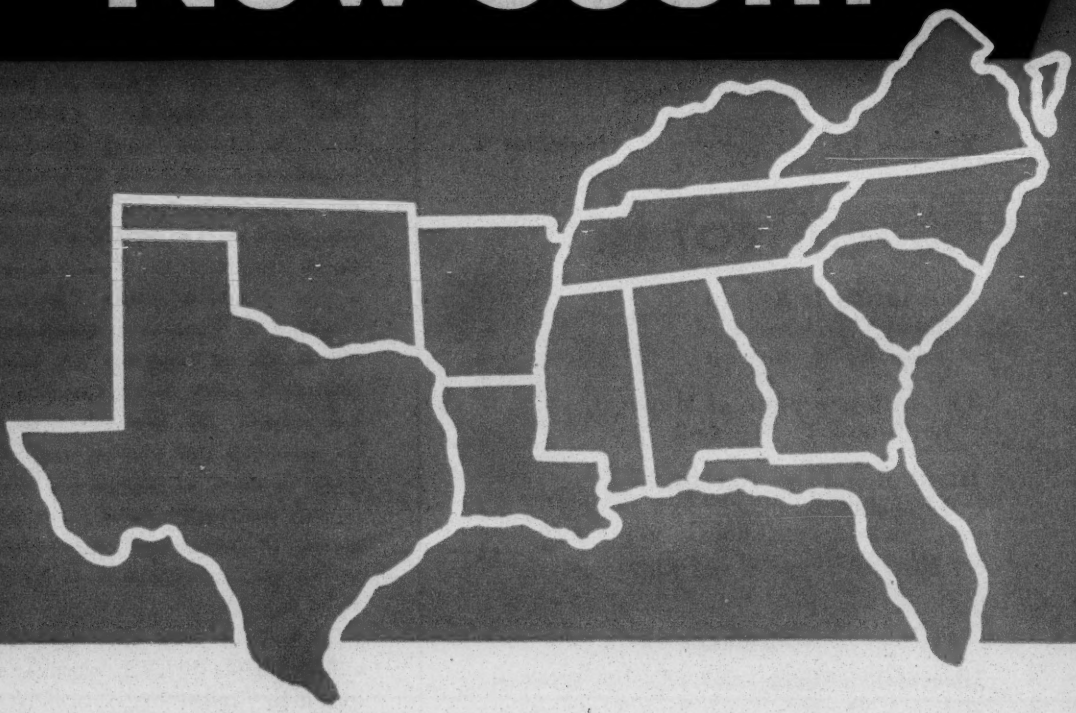
New South



- **Moderation is Key**
  A. M. Secrest
- **The Intimate State of Man**
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- **Highlights from Recent Literature**
- **. . . Unquote**

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New South

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Notes

"Moderation" is needed in the South's racial crisis; and, more and more, moderation now is being called for. A. M. Secrest, Editor and Publisher of the CHERAW CHRONICLE in Cheraw, South Carolina, recently was appointed as a member of the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the President's Civil Rights Committee. Mr. Secrest spoke to the Pageland, South Carolina, Chamber of Commerce concerning his reasons in accepting this position which many South Carolinians had refused. Mr. Secrest's reasons for accepting this position and his other thoughts of moderation concerning the South's racial crisis are worthy of widespread distribution and so are reprinted here in NEW SOUTH.

In keeping with Mr. Secrest's article, NEW SOUTH reprints a speech by United States Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell. In the speech, presented before the New Orleans, Louisiana, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Secretary Mitchell raises a point that has been receiving more attention recently. This is that it is now time to change the spirit of man as well as the spirit of the law in regard to racial and religious prejudice and discrimination.

The research department of the Southern Regional Council presents another in "Highlights from Recent Literature." In this issue, a recent pamphlet and an article are highlighted.

Concluding the issue is NEW SOUTH's regular department, "... Unquote."

Moderation Is Key To South's Dilemma

By
A. M. Secrest
Editor
Cheraw (S. C.) Chronicle

(The following is the major portion of a speech give by Editor Secrest to the Pageland, South Carolina, Chamber of Commerce.)

. . . It occurred to me that I should perhaps remind you of some of the things that could prevent us from realizing the great economic promise that the future holds.

This danger lies in an unwise or violent reaction to a racial problem which has plagued this nation since its infancy but which has gained a new urgency with the Supreme Court's ruling of 1954.

I'm going to speak to you, then, as a prospective member of the South Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission. I undertake what I expect to be a difficult and thankless job only because I feel it offers an opportunity to perform a service for our state. As a citizen of Chesterfield County I feel an obligation to tell you what I know of this proposed committee and of my connection with it. I hope that I am not imposing upon friendship or hospitality by dealing with what is unavoidably a "controversial" subject.

This committee has no real authority. It has no power of subpoena and no way to enforce its recommendation. Its only job is to conduct hearings, listen to complaints and suggestions from various groups in the state, and for-

Moderation

(Continued)

ward findings and recommendations to Washington.

The commission itself wants a balanced committee which will avoid crackpots and extremists on either side, one which will represent all responsible segments of the population, from the members of the citizens councils on the right to the members of the NAACP on the left. It is particularly anxious for some representation from the white, conservative business community, and the fact that the Commission has had some difficulty forming this Committee indicates the distance we in South Carolina have traveled down the road toward suppression of personal opinion and the exercise of individual conscience. Perhaps it also reveals the depth of our desperate desire to stick our heads in the sand and wish away the whole business.

Local Level

But we shan't be permitted to do this. We do not enjoy complete freedom of choice nor are we in any real sense masters of our own fate in this regard. On the contrary, legally-enforced segregation, as opposed to voluntary segregation and freedom of association, is contrary to the national will as expressed by the Supreme Court, by numerous Executive orders, by acts of most of the state legislatures outside the South, and by some acts of the Congress.

The problem is here to be solved and it will be less painful for us if it can be solved at the local level by the people who must live with it. While we may not exercise unlimited control over the problem, we can shape its solution to our own interests if we but try. To refuse to seek an honorable, peaceful solution is to repulse reality and we believe this course will prove to be self-injurious and dangerous as well.

To Unite

The job of the S. C. Committee, as I understand it, is not to divide, but to unite, not to create trouble but to anticipate it and thereby prevent it. Our job will involve compromise and persuasion; negotiation and intercession; amelioration and reconciliation, arbitration and education.

None of its members, I feel sure, is interested in forcing Negro and white children together in the same classroom over the protest of their parents or in violating Southern traditions that are not in conflict with the dignity and freedom of an American citizen.

Before I talk about what I'm AGAINST, let me say what I'm FOR. I am FOR maintaining and strengthening the public school system. The people of this state have a vast investment in universal free education, and they have supported it more loyally, and at greater sacrifice than have many of their northern neighbors. It would be an unmitigated disaster to both races to close our public schools out of spite, fear, or anger.

I am FOR more industry, both domestic and foreign, for South Carolina. Without more factory jobs to take care of our farm people driven off the land by the soil bank and by a Republican indifference, if I may indulge in a little partisan over-simplification, we will suffer in isolated poverty while the rest of the nation speeds ahead.

That's why I am FOR Gov. Hollings' industry-hunting trip to N. Y., FOR the Business Development Corporation for South Carolina, and FOR the federal rural development program in which Chesterfield County participates as a pilot county.

I hope I can make it clear that I am not an "integrationist," in the "unpopular" sense of the word. I am AGAINST "immediate and forth-with" wholesale integration of the public schools anywhere in the South and would question the wisdom of attempting even token integration in Southern rural areas, where social pressures and personal emotions run so strong on the subject. To do so would be to endanger our public schools, as indeed they are already endangered in Prince Edward County, Va., and Clarendon County, S. C.

But if I am against massive integration, so am I also opposed to massive resistance. Certainly the experience of Virginia and Arkansas demonstrated that such methods are weak reeds to rely upon to maintain segregation or preserve public education.

How and When?

If you agree with me that we cannot escape this problem forever, and that we have so far been singularly lucky in S. C., thanks not only to legal planning but also to the good sense and good will of our Negro citizens, then you perhaps will also agree that the question is not, shall we face it? but how and when.

Will we seek solutions calmly and sensibly, or witlessly and emotionally, forgetting Shapespeare's reminder that "whom the gods destroy, they first make mad?"

One symptom of madness would be to attempt interposition, a fancy-dan name for nullification, which is no more workable today than it was in 1832. Another would be massive resistance, which harmed Virginia and Arkansas far more than their leaders care to admit. A third would be the closing of our public schools.

Economy

You people, as leaders of a business community, should be particularly anxious to see that our schools stay open. For it should be clear that our economy cannot grow without a good system of public education, and that education cannot grow without prosperity.

If you doubt this, take a look at Little Rock, a city which once enjoyed excellent race relations and a booming economy. Since 1957, however, when Gov. Faubus supplanted moderation with extremism, not a single new industry has come to the Arkansas Capital. Members of Chambers of Commerce in South Carolina, more than any other group, should be interested in promoting racial harmony, preventing violence and preserving the public schools.

Let me quote from a recent speech by A. M. L. Wiggins of Hartsville, one of our state's truly great leaders, and, I suspect, a "moderate segregationist," to demonstrate this point:

Mr. Wiggins says: "We know that the economy of South Carolina cannot move ahead without substantial industrial development. We know that the solution of most of our fiscal difficulties can be solved only by a substantial increase in productivity and increased per capita income—primarily through industrial development. This being the case, I say to you with strong convic-

Moderation

(Continued)

tion that we will not advance in this state ECONOMICALLY unless at the same time we advance EDUCATIONALLY. Progress in South Carolina will advance no faster in other respects than it does in the field of education."

He added that the educational level determines the economic status of a community and that education is the spring from which economic progress flows.

What good will Gov. Hollings' industry-hunting safaris do, what purpose can a state business development corporation serve, what's the point of having community and county research and development boards, if we destroy, through fear or anger, our greatest assets—the public schools?

Stiff Price

You hear often of the "inevitability" of integration in the South's public schools. I disagree. The South can indeed avoid any form of integration if we are willing to pay the stiff price that will be required. This price will include giving up future economic opportunities which we should enjoy and turning our backs on traditional American, and Southern, concepts of justice, freedom and fair play. I, for one, cannot believe that we would be willing to remake the face of America in the image of South Africa, where political freedom and special privileges are reserved for the white ruling class, or the Soviet Union, where there's no personal freedom as we know it for anyone, in order to maintain total, universal segregation in South Carolina.

Neither do I believe many of us want to sail off the mainstream of American life to wallow in a revolving eddy, going 'round and round but never getting anywhere. This present generation must not sacrifice the future by living only in the past. We must resist the temptation to become an American version of Ireland, exiling ourselves in nationalistic, not-so-splendid isolation.

Patience, Foresight

This seems particularly incredible when one believes, as I do, that with a little patience, foresight and planning, we can alter the sum of our way of life in order to retain its substance; that we can afford token integration in the hope and expectation that acceptance of a little will avoid a lot.

I believe our strongest natural defense against massive co-mingling of the races in the schools lies in simple custom. People, white and colored, prefer what they're used to. Change is always resisted, and now that we are making an honest effort to provide equal, as well as separate, schools for Negro children, most of their parents will prefer them to attend their own schools where they feel at home, are well received, and can compete successfully.

We can back up this first line of defense with pupil assignment laws and local option plans which the Courts have already accepted as legal "on the face." Once the stigma of legal inferiority has been removed, the Negro will not be eager to press for more. Of course there will be SOME Negro children who will want to test their new legal privileges and there will be some who can pass the

pupil assignment qualifications.

Faced with a choice between closing down our public school system or accepting limited numbers of these qualified students, I choose the latter. I do not for a minute believe that such a choice would result in a "tea-colored" American citizenry, intermarriage or lowered academic standards. To draw an analogy between the United States and certain South American countries, where the history of colonization was so entirely different, is superficial and misleading.

Certainly it seems preferable at least TO TRY alternatives than to commit regional suicide immediately by abolishing public education. Yet present state laws require us to do just that if a Negro student obtains a court order to enter a white school.

Change Spirit

This law, if enforced by the Governor, means that if a graduate, say, of Benedict College in Columbia, should gain admission to the Medical College of Charleston, or the law school at the University of South Carolina, these schools would have to close immediately. Just two Negro students could, at the direction of the NAACP, close down both Clemson and USC on the same day, according to this law. Not only the law, but the spirit which makes such legislation possible, must be repealed.

There HAS been racial prejudice and discrimination in this state, as well as throughout the nation. The North maintains a large degree of educational segregation by residential separation, and Northerners would throw fits over some of the integrated neighborhoods we have in Cheraw, which do not seem to bother our folks at all. It depends on what you're accustomed to. It's not so much a matter of fact as fancy that counts.

Great Change

While I would doubt the wisdom of trying even token integration in Pageland or Cheraw, limited mixing, controlled by pupil assignment laws, in Southern metropolitan centers, or at the college or graduate school level is a different matter. Surely here, and on the political and economic fronts, is where the controversy should be resolved.

We are living in a time of great change, both in the scientific, political and social world, and this fact is best demonstrated by the picture of Gov. Luther Hodges sitting down at a public dinner in Chapel Hill with President Sekou Toure of the young African republic of Guinea.

Harry Golden, of course, said several years ago that all a Negro had to do to gain acceptance in the South was to wrap a cloth around his head and speak French. There's some truth to this humorous observation, but it's not quite that simple. It wasn't too long ago that Gov. Strom Thurmond declined to receive the Negro ruler from a Carribean Republic at the State House in Columbia, much to the embarrassment of our State Department.

Yet ten years later the Tar Heel governor, grasping the fact that in the struggle between democratic and communist ideologies in the uncommitted nations of the world, this Negro man was an important symbol, graciously and publicly welcomed him.

Moderation

(Continued)

The tide is running so fast, in fact, that the Negro need not resort to the turban and the French. A far more powerful status symbol is the good old American dollar bill, despite its deflated condition. This is already becoming the great equalizer, and Gov. Hollings and his entourage in N. Y. are doing more, admittedly unintentionally, to hasten the departure of legally-enforced segregation, than the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union, the ADA or the Supreme Court could ever do.

Surely economic opportunity, the right to hold a white collar job, or to compete equally with white for factory employment, is far more basic than the question of a few Negro pupils in classes with thousands of whites.

Just as almost no one disputes any more the right of a Negro to register and vote, even in Democratic primaries, just so attitudes concerning employment are changing.

And so they should, for what good does a fine education, in separate but equal schools, do, if all the graduate can do is teach, farm, or serve as a maid, gardener, or pullman porter? It is unrealistic to think that dual civilizations can exist side by side in a century characterized by mass production, interdependent economies, and a revolution in technology and communication.

Massa is indeed in the cold, cold ground, though the wake's not quite over yet, and Rastus is no longer picking his teeth and giggling under a shade tree. He's got on a coat and tie, belongs to a PTA, and takes his daughter to a separate, but equal, to be sure, dancing school. And, as Harry Golden again observes, that takes some getting used to.

Because of the great wealth of basic understanding and personal affection that underlies relations between the races in the South, I believe that we are perhaps better prepared to accept these changes and make our peace with them than any other section of the country. Judging by the headlines in the daily papers, we may one day see a strange juxtaposition, whereby the South emerges as the nation's strongest defender against discrimination and retaliation.

Leadership: Virginia and Georgia

From Chattanooga Times

No error could be more grave, no mistake more costly, no travesty more tragic, no course more productive of woe, than to succumb to the blandishments of those who could have Virginia abandon public education and thereby consign a generation of children to the darkness of illiteracy, the pits of indolence and dependency, and the dungeons of delinquency.

—Lindsay Almond,
Governor of Virginia.

We must not let them run up the flag of surrender over our capital city. We must not let them surrender up this hallowed ground.

Ernest Vandiver,
Governor of Georgia.

The Intimate State of Man

By Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell

Presented to

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

There are certain phrases that stick in a man's mind, certain combinations of syllables that keep ringing and that seem to contain somewhere within them a greater truth than their surface value would indicate.

There is such a phrase in one of the publications of the ADL. I think it points to the center of reality in all questions involving human relationships and the conduct of one person or group toward another person or group.

That phrase is: "the intimate state of man."

After all, the history of the human race would appear very strange and different to us if viewed from the vantage of man's intimate, personal condition rather than from his economic or social or political condition.

I suppose that at the outset of my argument I should attempt a definition of that phrase, something that your writer, like all good writers, did not.

I think that definitions are better left to lawyers but let me try, by analogy, to describe what this term means to me.

It's an emotional state—the awkwardness of a young person in a group of adults, the embarrassment that confronts a child of a different color when confronted with the fact of this difference, the hurt that a person feels when he is rejected from a company he would desire to join. It involves emotional states like joy and anger, frustration and confidence, sorrow and contentment.

Here are two pictures: A young man and woman happily taking a walk through a city park when yelled at by a group of boys who insult them because of their race or creed or color. The walk remains the same, but there has been a change in the intimate state of both of them.

Second picture: Two fathers, of different nationalities and different economic and social backgrounds, standing at a glass window and looking down on their newly born sons, and then looking at each other. There is a sharing of intimate states.

I hope those pictures will suffice to explain my interpretation.

I think that a whole society, an entire peoples, can have an intimate state of its own, one reflected in their traditions, their culture, their way of life. I think, too, that in the solutions we devise to meet the problems of human relationships we fail to understand this, we fail to approach man as a person or a particular society of man as a composition

Intimate

(Continued)

of persons, all sharing this immense inner life.

We sometimes delude ourselves, for example, that there is a neat equation to solving our international difficulties with underdeveloped or less developed countries. That equation, we tell ourselves, is this: economic aid means increased industrialization means a more skillful and better rewarded body of workers means greater consumer markets means higher prosperity means acceptance of democratic ideals and principles.

We do not stop to think that a whole nation may be scared right out of its wits by the whole modern world, or that the individual worker in the native village may find the greatest contentment and peace of mind in things as they are.

Human Commodity

Here in New Orleans, the port city for a great agricultural region, perhaps in this audience, there are many competent and capable men and women who can discuss the economic and social condition of the domestic migrant farm worker and his family, can speak of them in terms of wages and hours worked, miles traveled, composition of crew, crop specialty and so on—a kind of human commodity.

But this is to fail completely in understanding the problem in the only terms in which it *is* understandable to a human being.

If I say to you that there are 500,000 domestic migrant farm workers who make an average of $859 a year, that says something to you.

Economic Argument

Yet, in Washington, two weeks ago, we held hearings on regulations designed to improve in a very small measure the life of domestic migrants, and at those hearings this small attempt was met with almost universal official opposition by groups whose entire view had been conditioned by an economic argument rather than by an awareness of the intimate state of the human beings we are trying to help.

Nobody *likes* being poor and ill-fed and badly housed.

I am convinced that ignorance of your fellow man's intimate state, or deliberate refusal to acknowledge it, is the dominant characteristic and the great blinding error of totalitarian systems.

Let us pray earnestly that it is not ours as well.

Discrimination itself is a failure to see the sameness between lives, the oneness that exists. The word means to distinguish; it is ironic that modern usage has added the connotation: to disgrace and insult.

Yet the fact that most racial discrimination is based upon differences that have been exploded as myth by every competent anthropologist means little in solving the practical problems that people of different origin have in living together.

I think we all know what the solution is.

Too often we only perpetuate the problem by changing its context.

Thus a Negro child who is considered

by nature, inferior to a white child will be so considered despite the location of his desk, and what needs changing is not the location of the desk but the dislocation of the mind that makes the consideration.

The kind of identification that is needed, the kind of insight into another person's intimate state, is more easily possible in a democracy than in any other kind of system. Our society is, for the most part, open and flexible; it brings all kinds of people and all kinds of groups into close contact, and this presents one of the rare opportunities in man's history for people to understand one another.

An educator was asked by a journalist last year while he was visiting in Europe, to tell in a single word the most important thing in American civilization.

He though a moment and said, "Access."

Not success but access.

Access

The argument is a simple one: our Declaration of Independence says we are all born free and equal. We all know that we are not, that we are very unequal in terms of intellectual capacity, environment, skill and other things. But we believe that everyone, of whatever color or race or creed, should have equal access to opportunity to develop whatever potentials he has.

He should be able to extend as far as his reach will take him.

To deny that, to seal off that access, close that door, is to deny the ideal for which America stands in the opinion of the world. It is also to shut down the vast generative power that has driven the United States into a commanding world leadership in less generations than it took to build some of the pyramids.

A German immigrant, Carl Schurz, said many years ago that America was "the great colony of free humanity, which has the world for its mother country." That has been the source of our strength and the reason for our greatness. Herbert Hoover said once that here and here alone the windows of man's soul were thrown open. And I think that those windows stay open, even in the lowliest slum, as long as each and every person knows he had access to opportunity.

In the last analysis, the value of America to the rest of the human family is the single fact that here a man has a chance.

In 1864, during the dark days of the Civil War, Lincoln went out one day to talk to the soldiers of the 166th Ohio Regiment. He tried to tell them what they were fighting for. What he said to them was this:

"It is in order that each of you, through this free government, have an open field and a fair chance for your industry, enterprise and intelligence . . . It is for this the struggle should be maintained."

An open field and a fair chance . . . how many millions of people the world over would sacrifice their very lives to guarantee an open field and a fair chance for their prosperity.

Working people the world over, in every kind of society, share the same aspiration: to enjoy a return from their labor commensurate with their effort and with justice. This aspiration is common to all because it is a natural one

to man. If it could ever be welded into a single, effective force it could become the single most potent weapon for peace the world has ever known.

At present, this aspiration that is a part of every person's nature is in some places suppressed by governments that seek to determine for themselves what the people shall have or not have. Here in the United States it is not so much aspiration as a comman expectation by all those who enter our labor force. In still other places it exists only as a dream, a vision that drives men to create political and social institutions that they hope can make it possible.

But imagine the power of that idea—that every man and woman, wherever they are in the world and whatever the economic and social traditions of their societies, could look forward confidently to a full return for his labor, in terms of wages and housing and education and health facilities and recreation facilities and protection in his old age and a legacy of some kind for his children.

Fair Share

And after all, this is what the world struggle is all about. This is what underlies the ferment of the 20 new nations on earth. If the world crisis that springs from the conflict in political and economic systems is reduced to its most understandable terms, that is what you have: the single working man and his family. Is he to enjoy his fair share of the earth and contribute to the welfare of humanity by his own productive efforts, or isn't he? Will his labor, instead, go to strengthen an impersonal organization that uses him without reward to himself?

For the answers, I think he looks to us.

New World

And he doesn't want to hear about national production or about employment totals or about weekly wages. He wants to hear how Americans have managed to treat each other as human beings, and thus released from each individual his creative energy to help build a new and secure world.

I can tell you, from conversations I have had at the International Labor Organization Conference in Geneva each year, that our inability to solve our human relations problems weighs far more heavily in the judgment of the world than our ability to create new wealth from our resources.

Do we look to them like a society top-heavy with the chosen and the preferred?

In a world in which the educated opulent white man is in the small minority, how far do we expect a society to be honored that honors him to the exclusion of others?

These are questions that should stare down at us from across our desks, our dinner tables, and our legislative benches.

I will admit that long-term advantages are close to the most difficult thing to see in this world, the hindsight of historians excluded.

And yet a great overlooked fact in the United States today is that we are in the act of throwing away a vast reserve of human talent that might well be the critical factor in determining our future economic welfare.

Here is a piece from the Charlotte North Carolina Observer:

". . . The bulk of the Negro engineers and the Negro accountants must leave the South if they are to work," this editorial states. "The engineer may have been educated largely at public expense. He may represent the very kind of person that the Southern economy most needs. Still he must go; there is little alternative in the scheme of things . . ."

This scheme of things that leaves a society no alternative but to drive out people whom it will badly need in another generation seems to me to be suicidal.

The chance to live a decent comfortable life, to enjoy the products of industry and agriculture, to have the protection of medicine and savings, to have open access to the benefits of education and employment, and to worship and vote in the manner that the conscience dictates—that is what the struggle for the world is all about. This is what it boils down to, as an aspiration only for many, many millions, and as a reality for a few lucky ones. How we conduct ourselves in the pursuit of these goals, whether selfishly or selflessly, is the most important decision facing America today.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

American Friends Service Committee. RACE AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA. Pamphlet. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma. 53 pp., 1959.

We Americans today proclaim to the world our abhorrence of tyranny and totalitarianism, while in our practice at home, we exhibit large scale inhumanity to our fellow men. Every American is responsible for this, regardless of his religion, color, or race, and regardless of whether he is a Southerner or a Northerner.

This publication was authorized as: a study of where we as a people stand in the matter of race relations; an inquiry into where we ought to be; a proposal of methods of bridging the gap.

A highlight from the "Guideposts for Action" section of the latter part:

" '*Enemies*' *can become allies.* Values held by our citizens can respond to moral challenge. Those values include:

(1) *a sense of justice and fair play.* The very language used to justify discrimination is distorted to conceal the violation of justice and fair play. Even the bigot feels the need of these qualities in personal and social life.

(2) *personal generosity.* Even the most prejudice-blinded people make gen-

Highlights

(Continued)

erous responses to personal human need.

(3) *the desire to believe that he is good.* The worst outrages are usually committed by persons who have taken steps to "lose" themselves in a mob, so as not to feel personally responsible.

(4) *devotion to democracy.* Love for the ideals upon which our nation is founded runs deep and strong. Given new light on the application of democracy, many who now stand in the way of freedom might become strong in its favor."

• • •

Murphy, Walter F. "THE SOUTH COUNTER-ATTACKS: THE ANTI-NAACP LAWS." Western Political Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, June, 1959. pp. 371-390.

Many of the very factors which have kept the Negro politically powerless have offered an advantage in the courts. While the NAACP's more conventional pressuring of the Executive and Congress brought only a few concrete gains in organized Negro efforts for social equality, the coordinated court campaign of the Legal Defense and Education Fund branch of that organization yielded phenomenal success. When legally sanctioned segregation itself fell before this attack, segregationist leaders utilized the political weapons to which they had access: the state legislative and executive branches, and even occasionally the state judiciary. They defiantly protected the existing social system by defensive belts of new racial legislation and they also turned the power of their states against their antagonist, the NAACP.

In this article Mr. Murphy reviews the implements of counterattack employed by the segregationist states: statutes redefining and tightening the common law offenses and barratry, champerty, and maintenance; the use of corporation tax and registration laws; statutes restricting or requiring public employees to disclose membership in certain organizations; state investigations of the NAACP. He concludes that the results of the counterattack can be placed in two general categories. On an immediately practical plane, this campaign will not permanently stymie integration. Membership losses are painful but not fatal; other groups can successfully be formed when the NAACP is forced to go out of business. The counterattack is also serving to some degree as an escape valve for the disappointment and despair of the segregationist South at the end of legalized public segregation. If, however, the gradual legalistic approach of the NAACP is beaten or becomes unproductive, it is likely that Negroes will turn to extremist elements for support. On a different plane, the power behind the counterattack will compel more court decisions concentrating attention on the role of interest groups in the judicial process as well as on the part the judiciary plays in the waging and resolving of social conflict. In addition, such court determinations could do much to set permissible confines to judicial pressuring activities and possibly stir realistic legislation and court rules regulating the practice of "group law."

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"Georgia cannot under any circumstances or condition afford to close her public schools even for a day. We in Georgia seem to be debating whether we will even have public education or not when the crisis of the times is how can we improve the wonderful system of public education we now have and make it comparable to the ever mounting demands of our times."

Dr. William R. Cannon, Dean
Candler School of Theology
Emory University
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"Episcopalians organized an unofficial and independent Society for Cultural and Racial Unity the other day with a high purpose—to put into practice on a 'grass-roots' or diocesan level the denomination's racial policies. By this action it was emphasized that top-level pronouncements, good in themselves, are not enough to bring them to life in day-to-day affairs."

From an editorial
in *The Presbyterian Outlook*

• • •

"Closing public schools would be the greatest mistake we could make."

Rep. Marvin Moate
of Georgia
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

"We implore you [state political leaders] to provide legislation that will keep the schools open and preserve for our children their God-given rights of an uninterrupted public education.

The Griffin District Conference,
Methodist Church, Georgia,
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"I am a strong segregationist, but I will support whatever it takes to keep the schools of Georgia open."

Sen. R. E. Cannon
of Georgia
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

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"No white man can conceive of the indignities heaped upon Negroes in the South until he makes the attempt to discover them for himself. Segregation within and without the church is a denial of the Christian doctrine that all men are of equal value in God's sight, and a denial that Christ died for all men."

The Rev. John H. Teeter, Vicar,
Good Shepherd Church,
Lynchburg, Virginia,
Quoted by Associated Press